

PRISON ACTIVIST CONTACTS:

Athens ABC

Rfd #1, P.O. Box 6025
Athens, ME 04912

Baltimore ABC

(prints ABC Network bulletin)
PO Box 22203
Baltimore, MD 21203-4203

Black Autonomy

323 Broadway Ave E. Box #914
Seattle, WA 98102

Black Fist

15110 Bellaire, Box 317
Houston, TX 77083

Brew City Anti-Authoritarian Collective

PO Box 93312
Milwaukee, WI 53203

New York ABC

PO Box 1034
Bronx, NY 10454

Crossroad Support Network

1340 W. Irving Park Rd, Ste 108
Chicago, IL 60613

Fourth World ABC

(free literature to prisoners)
PO Box 22809
Newark, NJ 07101

Jacksonville ABC

3628 Park St., Suite 20
Jacksonville, FL 32205

DC AREA CONTACTS:

Blackwatch Grassroots

c/o Jennifer Smith
3802 14th St. NW #511
Washington, DC 20011

Lancaster ABC

P.O. Box 891
Lancaster, PA 17608

Left Bank Bookstore

(books to prisoners project)
92 Pike St. Box A
Seattle, WA 98101

Minneapolis ABC

PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407

Moncton ABC

P.O. Box 25103
Moncton, NB E1C9M9
Canada

National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons

c/o AFSC
972 Broad St., 6th Floor
Newark, NJ 07102

New Jersey ABC

(prints ABC Federation Bulletin)
PO Box 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508

Out of Time / Out of Control Lesbian Committee to Support Political Prisoners

3543 118th St Box 30
San Francisco, CA 94110

DC Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

P.O. Box 77432
Washington, DC 20013

Malcolm X Grassroots Movement

11160 Veirs Mill Rd, L15-200
Wheaton, MD 20902

Love & Rage Prison

Abolition Working Group
P.O. Box 853 Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009

Prison Activist Resource Center

PO Box 3201
Berkeley, CA 94703

Prison Legal News

P.O. Box 1684
Lake Worth, FL 33460

Prison News Service

PSC Publishers
PO Box 5052, Stn. A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1W4
CANADA

Redbook Store

(books to prisoners project)
92 Green Street
Jamaica Plain, MA 02120

Raze the Walls

PO Box 22774
Seattle, WA 98122-0774

Stop Prisoner Rape

P.O. Box 2713
Manhattanville Station
New York, NY 10027-8817

Takoma ABC

PO Box 5464
Tacoma, WA 98415-0464

New Afrikan Network in Defense of Political Prisoners & POWs

PO Box 90604
Washington DC 20090

**Claustrophobia ABC • P.O. Box 77432
Washington, DC 20013**

CLAUSTROPHOBIA



Politician X tries to sell an unconvinced audience on the virtues of living in concrete boxes at a speech Tuesday night.

Flint Gregory Hunt • Maryland's Racist Imprisonment Binge • three on death row in Indiana • a history of the MCAC • federal prison risings of October 95 • MOVE update • political prisoners in Mexico

Claustrophobia

issue 7 spring 1996

two families, sitting on opposite sides of a courtroom, watch the machinations of the state.

the wealthiest people in the room -- the judge, the lawyers -- are talking to each other, following procedures from books of code bound in burgundy hard covers lined on shelves that fill many rooms, books we haven't written or even read, books we don't even have the spare time to make sense of...

Everyone watches the lawyers play their game and the judge who sits in presumptuous boredom. After 11 years what can be expected of this? Everyone watches, but out of obligation and lack of any other options.

Eleven years later the cop's family still shows up to the condemned man's desperate legal appeals to seek his death as their own salvation. What else could a cop family do? the family that raised a guard dog for the state now sits in the background watching the state's machinery play games with their lives. They hope it will acknowledge their own humanity and that it deny the humanity of the Black man with a cloud of gas over his head and to all his family. In fact the cop's family, which isn't necessarily that different from the cop-killer's family, base their "justice" on the denial of the humanity of the condemned man and his family and friends.

But the system never gave a shit about that cop anyway. The cop -- being just as objectified as the "cop-killer" -- a necessary spectacle worker (see all these police? you better stay in your place!) and hired thug (stay in your place! blam! blam!)-- does not exist as a free human subject to the system because the system only acknowledges free human subjects in the realm of literature, tv, movies, etc. The grieving-cop-family-seeking-justice is, in general, useful to the system to justify escalation of counter-insurgency measures in the occupied neighborhoods*. In this instance, the grieving-cop-family-seeking-justice is needed to support the expansion of the

death penalty against a wide array of rebellious subjects. "Look how the good people suffer because of these animals!" But the grieving-cop-family-seeking-justice, which we have seen on tv or read about in the papers, is in reality just plain folk (if often plain white racist folk) who really loved their dead son, believe this is a righteous country and are dismayed by the violence which cut him down. They are victims in a way they would never admit. Of course they are also suckers.

In this process everyone involved (including everyone who constitutes "public opinion") ceases to exist as the particular individuals we know each other to be as we are assimilated as component parts into the Great Spectacular Machine of Justice.

* Occupied by the political and economic organization of a colonizing power, most clearly represented by the police/military, like in Palestine, Northern Ireland or South Afrika. Neighborhoods like Shaw, Anacostia, Suitland, Homewood are occupied by the murderous police forces of DC, Prince Georges, and Baltimore that hold these neighborhoods as colonies of superexploitation and oppression.

The two families look ahead at the judge, the lawyer and the witnesses, all of whom lie, instead of looking direct at each other.

We are supposed to believe that law is the work of government bringing peace and justice to the people. The state by way of law mediates the people's conflicts. This mediation is the source of their power. To mediate is to be a go between, to be the medium by which two things relate. But we don't need the state or any authority to "go between" us, to speak for us, to represent us, to act in our interest or do our bidding. If we cannot take action on our own behalf, then we are left vulnerable and weak. The state's offer to solve our problems for us, to make everything right between you and I, is the trojan horse by which they gain access to our fortified city of autonomy, and put us in chains.

Friends and family members of the 'victim' are expected to repress their

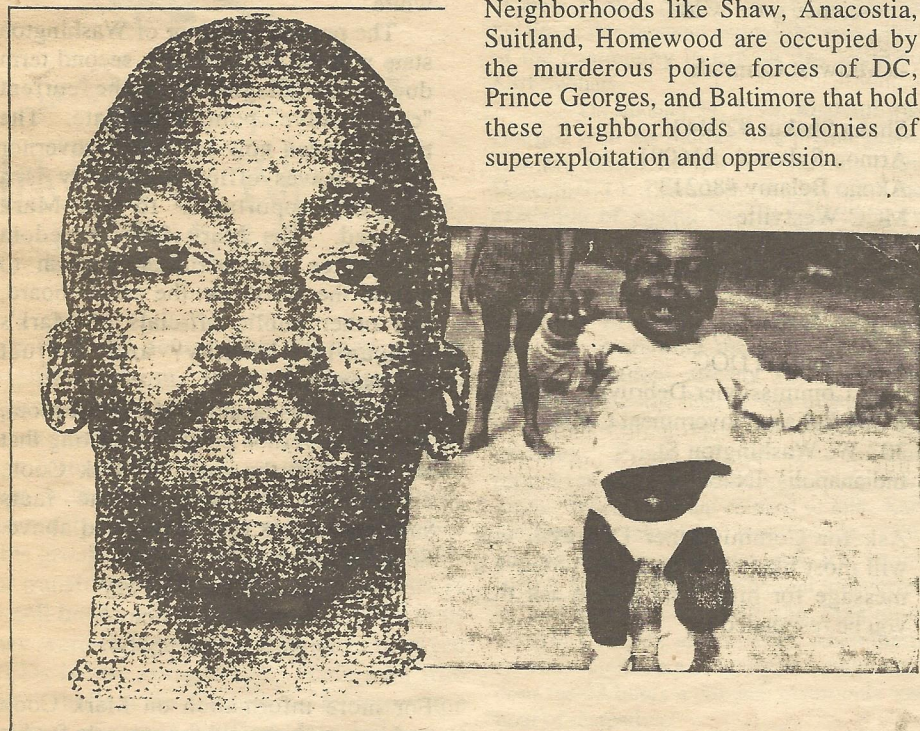
human subjectivity for a process of watching the state carry out their 'revenge' for them, rather than either taking it for themselves or going through a process of healing and reconciliation. Power is then located outside of ourselves. The state's mediation puts power in law books, the lawyers, the judges, the police, the prison administrators and guards while you and I sit in the courtroom and watch. Whichever "side" we're on, we are completely disempowered and irrelevant.

And the rest of us, as passive onlookers, are just as dehumanized by our role in sitting back and taking in the public spectacle of the 'justice' system pretending to decide what's in our best interests. We consider ourselves to be concerned with taking 'responsibility'

for our actions and inactions in the deepest way possible; that is precisely why the death penalty and the situation of a racist imprisonment policy are so sickening to us. So why continue to call the police on each other? Why continue to abandon people to prison and death row?

The resolution we desire begins when the cop's family acknowledges what joins them to the condemned man's family and recognize that the state does not represent them. This is a basis for dialogue and healing. By itself, this is a naive and simplistic solution because it denies the socio-political context for the initial conflict -- warfare between the state's security force and the youth in the occupied neighborhoods. But dialog and understanding between white working class families and Black working class families can undercut the power of law which provides cover for the oppression of both communities. When we speak directly to each other we eliminate the oppressor's mediation which in fact separates us rather than bringing us together.

The resolution we desire begins when all the people who read the paper and know its all shit, organize and demand, in whatever way suits our style, that the state isn't gonna kill anymore of us.



SUN STAFF PHOTO/1985

Flint Gregory Hunt



family's bad news: Hilda Adolfo (center) and daughters Janet Grossnickle (left) and Carol Miconi express despair moments after hearing the court's decision to stay the execution of Baltimore police Officer Vincent Adolfo's killer.

Hunt's execution delayed

Welcome to the seventh issue of *Claustrophobia* - "an abolitionist newsletter and journal". No, we didn't quit this project, it's just taken us a lot longer than expected to get this issue out! In the past, this has been the voice of the Washington, DC Anarchist Black Cross collective. Now, with the formation of an ABC network in process, *Claustrophobia* will take on the role of serving as a newsletter for that network, and we hope to see some positive influences on our work as a result. For those interested in staying in more direct contact with this network-in-formation, a "discussion bulletin" is being produced bimonthly by Baltimore ABC; contact them at P.O. Box 22203; Baltimore, MD 21203.

We're hoping to make *Claustrophobia* more relevant and useful as a resource to local struggles than it has been in the past. For that reason, most of the content in this article deals with issues that concern the prison movement in Maryland and DC. We are including a history and analysis of the dynamic struggle against Maryland's Supermax prison, the Maryland Correctional Adjustment Center, which was in large part drawn from Baltimore ABC's pamphlet "Total Control in the Free State". We also have news of a recent prisoners' strike in protest as well as an article by Flint Gregory Hunt, an MCAC inmate whose imminent execution was the focus of an intense media-drenched struggle until a court of appeals granted him a stay on May 31st - less than two weeks before his scheduled execution date. At present Gregory is awaiting a court's ruling on his request for a new trial or a new sentencing. If denied, it's likely that the governor will sign another warrant with a deadline of September or thereabout. Individuals involved in building a support campaign for him, as well as a general anti-control unit campaign, can be reached at the Baltimore ABC address, or at (410) 706-1923.

In this issue we're reprinting Jennifer Smith's article "Maryland's Racist Imprisonment Binge" because we feel it provides an important historical and theoretical grounding for anti-prison organizing both here and elsewhere. This article can also be found in a collection of discussion papers available from Blackwatch Grassroots Network (3802 14th St. NW, #511 / Washington, DC 20011).

The death penalty forms the apparent central focus of this issue, primarily due to overriding urgency of Gregory Hunt's case. We wanted to get beyond a liberal, moralistic opposition to the death penalty and try to show in broad terms some of the political reality of State Murder, and necessary elements of any opposition to it. It's not just Mumia as an exception, and it's not just about the obvious disparities in sentencing, the death penalty is much more than that - it's another tool the state employs to break up organized resistance. Khalfani Khaldun was a revolutionary New Afrikan organizer in Indiana State Prison when he was framed up for the "correction" of a guard in retaliation for the state's execution of Ajamu Nessor. We have included several other pieces on death row struggles in Indiana to show the level of resistance and organization inside and to reveal the intensely political reality of these battles. Khalfani, Zolo and Ziyon all deserve our support and we should be learning from them that effective opposition to the death penalty has to be based in the collective direct action of prisoners.

Anyone receiving this issue via the initial bulk mail permit should also find enclosed "Reflections: 1987 - 1996, the Transformation of Khalfani Khaldun". Those who have not gotten a copy can write to Philadelphia ABC who are doing a benefit edition, send at least \$2.

Thanks to Panther Ortega for the two drawings. And Sue Coe for the painting. We did the collages and stole the clip art.

xo, the claustrophobians

CLAUSTROPHOBIA ABC
P.O. BOX 77432 · WDC 20013

Emergency Response Network: solidarity with prisoners in struggle

10 Indiana State Prison Comrades Shipped to MCC Control Unit

Shaka Shakur is back inside the hole for an investigation of "engaging in or encouraging others to demonstrate." It's a bogus fishing expedition. Shaka and two others -- Armon Sylvester and Akono Belamy -- were arrested, one of the others was listed as being under an investigation for "threatening bodily harm towards another." Supposedly someone sent Shaka a kite internally that was intercepted (it allegedly mentioned brother Ziyon Yisrayah who is set to be executed June 14) and as a result the prison staff panicked. Shaka was arrested Tuesday May 28, at approximately 1:30 PM, but on Memorial Day, the other half of D Cell House, which is about 150 people, went to the kitchen and no one spoke a word! 100% participation! Of course the staff panicked. the protest was to show support for Ziyon and to protest the conditions in D Cell House.

The assumption is that they are reacting to the protest, which was not

organized by any of the accused. All of their property was sent to the investigator and is being went through with a fine tooth comb. Once that is complete, ain't no telling what kind of evidence they will manufacture. Shaka believes that even though they ain't got anything on him, he may be shipped out soon. The only place they can rotate him is deep south or to the Maximum Control Complex in Westville.

An investigation can last up to 45 days, and because they are refusing to be interviewed by the investigator it will probably drag out the full 45. Shaka is currently in IDU.

Shaka is seeking reeding material due to the fact that he can't get anything out of his property. If anybody is able to send books, magazines, pamphlets etc. to Shaka, Armon and Akono it would be appreciated.

6/7/96 Update:

Based on investigation they shipped 10 prisoners including the 3 mentioned in the above post and Lorenzo Stone-Bey #10006. They are already in violation because there is not supposed to be any temporary "warehousing" of prisoners at MCC. The prison administration is panicking over their upcoming assassination of Ziyon Yisrayah #61496 who remains on death row at ISP (P.O. Box 41, Michigan City, IN 46361-0041). The original lawsuit stipulated that prisoners who were part of the class action against MCC would not be shipped back there.

Commissioner Debrun oversees the entire Indiana prison system. There is a

request for folks to call and/or write him demanding that this bogus investigation be discontinued and also that all their personal property be released and more specifically that they be given all their legal materials, personal hygiene items and reading and writing material and under clothes. Several of the 10 shipped have already served time at MCC and should not be back there. The investigators have nothing on the 10 shipped -- it is strictly their panic ridden conscience gone wild.

-a Midwest Comrade

Shaka Shakur #28443
Armon Sylvester #16091
Akono Belamy #86213
MCC Westville
P.O. Box 557
Westville, IN 46391-0557

Call: 317-232-5715
Write: Indiana DOC
attn: Commissioner Debruyne
E 334 Indiana Government Center
302 W. Washington St.
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Ask for Commissioner Debruyne, you will most likely just be asked to leave a message for him -- so please ask that you be responded to.

Demand Freedom For Mark Cook

Mark Cook was convicted of felony assault on a police officer in 1973. The assault happened while he was working with an underground leftist political organization. He has now served over 20 years.

All other members of the organization Mark was working with, who were convicted of similar crimes, have been released. Mark was the only member of the group who was not white.

The present governor of Washington state will not be seeking a second term due to his disgust with the current "conservative" political climate. The time between now and when governor Lowry leaves office in January is a strategic opportunity to get Mark released. The Mark Cook Freedom Committee has instituted a push to inform the Governor, the parole board, and other public officials of Mark's unusually lengthy and unjust imprisonment.

To aid this push for Mark's freedom, write to governor Lowry requesting that he look into the case of Mark Cook, citing one or more of the facts surrounding his case mentioned above. Send letters to:

governor Mike Lowry
governor's mansion
Olympia, WA 98504

For more information on Mark Cook and how you can aid the struggle for his freedom write to:
The Mark Cook Freedom Committee
P.O. Box 85763
Seattle, WA 98145

GARY PEOPLES JUSTICE COMMITTEE

We are a small group of concerned family members and friends who have come together with the purpose of exposing a conspiracy by the Indiana State Prison system against our friend and brother Khalfani Khaldun, aka Leonard McQuay. The prison system has made a number of attempts to destroy Khalfani due to his revolutionary beliefs and spiritual beliefs and his struggle in the prison against racism and brutality.

Several years ago, Khalfani was confronted by a racist prison investigator, Karl Swihart, who wanted Khalfani to become a "prison snitch." Khalfani refused his proposals and ten days later some skinhead inmates torched Khalfani's cell with gas. All of his personal property - television, photographs, shoes - was completely destroyed. This was Swihart's way of telling Khalfani that he was dead. About ten days later, Khalfani was transferred out of the institution to the Indiana Reformatory in southern Indiana.

On June 30, 1989, Khalfani was sent back to Indiana State Prison in Michigan City and placed on their I.D.U. (Isolated Disciplinary Unit), and every time that Khalfani came up for release to general population Mr. Swihart accused him of being a "gang leader" to further harass and isolate Khalfani. Khalfani stayed in the segregation unit from 1989-1993 when he was released, along with six or seven New Afrikan brothers, to the prison's D-cell house (predator unit).

The only reason that Investigator Swihart agreed to the release of these prisoners was that this new unit was simply a larger segregation unit designed for "the baddest of the bad." It was a very negative scene because the prisoners there were not allowed to be productive and many had developed backwards attitudes. Swihart was hoping that the prisoners would stew in their ignorance and either kill each other or be killed.

This plan backfired on him. Khalfani and ten other New Afrikan prisoners saw the need for Nation building and educational awareness. Political history classes were formed inside D-cell house. Khalfani had a great number of books and he organized a peoples' library for the sole purpose of educating the young New Afrikan

Greetings and power to the people!

First of all we want to thank everyone who sent in the \$\$\$. It was the only reason we were able to survive. By that I mean that if we hadn't recieved the funds from everyone we might still be in jail and that if we were able to come up with them ourselves we would surely be without a home.

We are charged with felony criminal mischief. This means that if we are convicted we will face 5 years in prison each. The prosecution brought us into the courtroom on May 2, 1996. We were informed that we were indeed to be charged with felony criminal mischief and we plead not guilty! We took photos of the prosecutor on his way out of the courtroom. He was very upset

MCAC CONT'D

It is testimony to the strength of the human spirit that even these conditions were not enough to stifle prisoners' creativity entirely. In November of 1990 -- less than a year after the prison opened -- life-term prisoner Harold Benjamin Dean became the first inmate to escape from a U.S. control unit when he crawled out through a cell window and escaped to begin a new life as a free man in the Midwest. This escape was only the first of many challenges to the DoC public position that building Marion-style control units was the most efficient, safest, most humane way of dealing with the state's exploding prison population. Although the DoC could still point to a decrease in inmate

Jacksonville YAM/ABC Update

and had us brought back before the judge.

The judge told him that there was nothing that he could do about it because no crime had been committed. The prosecutor, however, continued to make false statements that we were trying to harass him.

Indeed we were taking the photo to include in our local publication, Alarm!

There are two suits in motion here: one is criminal -- the charges of criminal mischief; the other is the civil -- us charging the police with a violation of our civil rights for the Jan 12, 1996 raid. We must deal with the

criminal first because it takes priority in the so-called "justice" system.

To raise \$ we had a concert on the 28th of April at a local club called the Moto Lounge. We were only able to raise \$85, however. We also will be publishing the Unabomber's Industrial Society and Its Future. If anyone would like one of these send \$5 to us at the address listed below.

For more info on what's up contact Robert at Youth Action Movement - Anarchist Black Cross, 3628 Park St., #20 Jacksonville FL 32205; tel. 904-389-8182. Email us at yamjabc@jaxnet.com. Our web site address is <http://www.jaxnet.com/~yamjabc/Index.html>

Eternal struggle, Robert

initiated violence over the old South Wing (prisoners could rarely even socialize, let alone plan to take any kind of power into their hands), the claims that the MCAC would be more humane, cleaner, better for inmates' rehabilitation (and so forth) all had to be forgotten or ignored.

The everpresent threat of brutality creates a general atmosphere that is one of thousands of minor violations of prisoners' humanity. What can they do if for no apparent reason, the guards on duty purposefully slow down the daily routine schedule and as a result they do not get to take their daily shower or recreation time? these minor everyday grievances, for which there is no real way of redressing, are a continual assault on prisoners' sense of self-worth.

On May 1, the U.S. Department of Justice submitted a letter of findings to Maryland's Governor Glendening regarding their investigation into the MCAC. The letter found the Supermax in violation of CRIPA (the "Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act") in several areas, including medical and mental health care, exercise, indefinite segregation, and abuse, and offered specific directions from a team of "experts" to remedy the violations. Under the provisions of CRIPA, the state has a period of 49 days to bring the prison into compliance with the minimum standards set by CRIPA or face a lawsuit from the DoJ. As of this writing (July 2nd), there has been no word of any action on either the part of the state or the federal government.

OCTOBER UPRISINGS CONT'D

recreating community. The reality of prisons then spreads out into communities to counter state-media propaganda. We must be building the dialog now in neighborhood papers, community forums and radio shows. We must create autonomous channels of communication, because the system's media can't be counted on. We paint the walls with reality, we throw up free radio waves, we turn out the people's newspapers, we stand on the corner and pass around the word. Out of such a dialog we can organize to take back our communities from that which oppresses us: patriarchy/white supremacy/capitalism.

Emergency Response Network

The ABC Network has an emergency response network which mobilizes support for revolutionary prisoners who are being transferred, locked-down, need medical help or are in any other type of pressing situation. In order to develop the ERN to the level of supporting rebellions within one prison or the whole system, we need to establish solid communication with prisoners in as many prisons as possible. When the uprising comes, if we have information on the situation, the demands and other background information, we can mobilize the em in support of the rebels. We also call on our outside readers to join the ERN to participate in acts of solidarity with imprisoned comrades. Typical actions called for by the ERN are phone calls, letter writing and the organization of demonstrations. Part of prisoners working with the ERN should be to figure out what are valuable acts of solidarity. We are looking to set up cooperative and mutualistic relations between prisoners and outside activists. Please be in touch.

effectiveness amongst the brothers he chose to help of his own free will.

Khalfani appreciates his new found knowledge and understanding and has committed his life and soul to the liberation of New Afrikan people. He is fighting for his life at this moment and needs the support of the community to expose this setup by Karl Swihart.

On January 31, 1995, Khalfani was charged with the murder of a prison guard, and act which he did not commit. On December 13, 1994, several days after the execution of Ajamu Nassor (aka Gregory Resnover) at the Indiana State Prison, a guard was killed. The murder occurred in the predator D-cell house where Khalfani was housed. Investigator Swihart sent for Khalfani concerning the stabbing of this guard. Khalfani already knew that the possibility existed that he was being set up to take the murder rap, so he refused to say anything. Prison officials tried to tape record his voice in order to solidify their setup. When Khalfani refused to talk, Karl Swihart screamed at him saying, "I'm putting this one on you and it's gonna stick." Swihart ordered Khalfani transferred to another prison called the Maximum Control Complex at Westville, where he is confined alone in a cell behind a huge steel door for 23 hours a day and given only one hour of recreation.

Khalfani needs help for the outside and he feels sad about the lack of support for him and brothers like him due to lack of unity and communication on the behalf of New Afrikan people. Prior to this setup conspiracy, Khalfani was due to be released

in two and one half years. Now his life is on the line and only with support of people from the community can he be saved. So We are asking you to join Us. Contribute what you can to his defense fund, or even send Brother Khalfani some encouraging words of support. Remember, tomorrow this could be your own son, daughter, uncle, nephew, brother, whose life is on the line. We must act now. As long as We continue to live under this capitalist system of modern slavery and oppression, We will be fighting against its injustices, its racism and its murderous nature.

In struggling with this situation for Brother Khalfani, We not only help him, but also help ourselves to create the atmosphere of peoples' struggle, especially for people who have lost hope and believe that change is a lost cause. So We ask you to support in any way you can; it all counts, so Khalfani says. We need your collective support. Once We come together We are a force that can't be stopped. Stay strong and always remember, struggle is Our life whether we live in the down ghetto or the uptown neo-housing development. It's all a struggle. It's the oppressed against our present oppressor which is the system.

Strength through empowerment is what We need all around Us.

Send tax-deductible donations to:
Sonora McQuay
Khalfani Defense Fund
P.O. Box 1513
Gary, IN 46402

Write Khalfani at:
Khalfani Khaldun
(Leonard McQuay) #874304
Indiana DOC - Maximum Control Complex
P.O. Box 557
Westville, IN 46391-0557

Note: Prison authorities have destroyed all of Khalfani's study materials, books, etc. If some of you can lend a hand by sending him some newspapers and/or political development materials, we will appreciate the assistance. Politics in Command

Information from:
Brew City Anti-Authoritarian Collective
P.O. Box 93312 Milwaukee, WI 53203

I would like to shout out to Mumia Abu-Jamal who is fighting these settlers for his right to live. Keep your head up, my beloved comrade in arms, for the people shall have our day to call to task those who have wronged us for 400 years. They want to silence you because you're that fire, spirit, strength, and determination our kolonial slave masters fear the most. My spirit does a rain dance to the beat of freedom's drums for you, my brother. Aluta continua. If they come for you this morning, I'm sure they'll be to see me tonight. Long live John Africa.

Free the Land
All power to the people

COLLECTIVE
KHALFANI KHALDUN
STRUGGLE

men in D-cell house. This attracted a lot of attention from both prisoners and administration. Many young Black men became interested in the programs and a class was formed. On Fridays, the group would deal with self-esteem, self-determination, spirituality, math, reading and world politics. This group, led by Khalfani, was responsible for transforming the awareness of inmates in D-cell house, especially about the conditions they were living under. Some guys received GEDs before going home. Some men who didn't believe in God came to know the realness of prayer and God. It is this type of creativity and work that made Investigator Swihart target Khalfani.

Swihart continued to try to discredit Khalfani as a "Gary gang leader" and a "prison snitch," in order to curtail his

"LIFE IS CRUEL AND UNUSUAL"

a message from Flint Gregory Hunt

Here at the Maryland Supermax on Deathrow, life is viciously miserable, inhumane and very cruel and unusual---in every aspect!

On April 23, 1996 at about 2:00 at night the division of corrections moved 13 deathrow prisoners to the SuperMax from the Maryland Penitentiary general population. In the newspapers the reason was, it is more convenient for our attorneys to see us. How can it be convenient here behind glass or in a conference room shackled down in a 3 piece handcuff and chain set? When at the Maryland Penitentiary you go on a contact or conference room attorney visit shackle free, handcuff free, while even on lock-up.

How can you take 14 individuals from a C-4 level Maryland Penitentiary general population, where you have physical freedom to pursue every level of moral mental/health/academic rehabilitation available and stick 'em in a C-5 level security facility. And say its for the convenience of their lawyers to visit them rather than send them to the new facility in Jessup.

When in truth the SuperMax wasn't built with Deathrow prisoners in mind. There are a lot of mental health and psychological humane rationales and preparations put into building a prison. And we were not considered in that regard when this building was built or designed. We have no means to assist us to stay in touch with humane qualities of life in the event somebody gives their time back or gets a change of sentence.

We can't practice congregational religion there are no jobs, no schools/academic structures or self help/family oriented programs here that

were available at the Maryland Penitentiary. The very same stance the system has taken towards us in this move, this is how they regard every process or aspect of imprisonment. It is a very pathetic vicious cycle and society suffers the consequences, then they want revenge the death penalty, tougher sentencing guidelines, more police and a whole slew of revenge/reactionary retaliatory policies etc. All because they don't want to rationale the negative treatment and imprisonment they subject people to in the first place. Rather than remedy every problem circumstance condition or situation appropriately -- with humane aspects/attributes in place, they shuck the burden, the blame.

The Death Penalty in Maryland is used strictly for revenge purposes against blacks who have crimes/offenses against whites. And to give you a real bone to chew on notice I'm the only prisoner on deathrow for the crime against a police officer that they're wishing to execute, why?

My arrest was in 1985 and since then there has been numerous incidents of homicide involving a police or state trooper and not one of them are on deathrow. Now my issues in appeal, Post Conviction and in certiorari are very, very germane and deserve an honest evaluation and consideration due to the law of the land like every white deathrow or non-deathrow prisoner-amerikan!

I think police that kill people should get the very same treatment I'm subjected to, yet all he gets is a temporary suspension, while his fellow officers cover up for him or make things lesser, so if he has to be a scapegoat he

doesn't get the death sentence or the maximum sentence.

Where is my equal due process rights? The constitution says all should be treated equal and no man should be deprived of life or limb or have his life placed in jeopardy without due process of the law. Not once since I have been arrested on this charge and sentenced to death have I been granted due process/due protection, otherwise how can you explain I'm the only person on deathrow with the homicide of a police officer about to be executed?!!

Since there is no vocational-rehabilitational educational-religious structure here "I take it upon myself very very very adamantly to educate myself and discipline myself through my religious faith/principles, because it is my responsibility too, to be a responsible productive human being in the human process for life, liberty, and salvation. I have a son who is now 19 whom I've raised since he was nine months old, I have 5 neices, 5 nephews, 4 sisters, my mother and love ones/friends whom I try my very very best each and every day to reach out and touch, motivate, encourage and share my virutes with unconditionally.

Because my mind/heart/soul and spirit is free from the dogmatic strictures that society and politics force on people through their many corruptive/oppressive devices, false-hyped-up propaganda machines, I suffer as long as everybody else suffers go hungry homeless, jobless, ignorant to the truth and misled by media hype, the laws of the land. And the proof is evident...the tv and newspaper would have you believe I'm a crazed animal or a thing beyond humane representation...they seek to hoodwink you, desensitize you, so my execution can be carried out without reproach, question or investigation and demand of

the truth.

And the SuperMax is made and operated on the sub-humane standards to make you a animal or destroy you if you have no strong foundation stand upon and outside support, etc.

And now that they have quietly and jive successfully brought deathrow prisoners here under shady pretenses without question or challenge except by a concerned prison activist/supporter, they shall forcefully silence us and aid in the gradual pursuit to execute all Maryland deathrow prisoners.

Just by being housed here in a facility that wasn't originally considered or structured for deathrow prisoners in itself, helps complicate the already horrendous injustices MD deathrow prisoners face, experience daily and complain about. The lack of law classes, legal counseling, legal materials, lack of legal books, access to the phone, visitations from law students, etc and the concepts these people who run superMax function by will in every way affect one's legal chances. Everything here at SuperMax is structure anti-life! At the Maryland Penitentiary where deathrow has been housed since the 1900s everything was set up and structured for Pro-life!

I pray that I have enlightened you all by some means to our plight here, the destructive dilemma we face daily and the fact that I need your support /solidarity to impede and stop my impending execution June 10, 1996.

If not, I truly appreciate having been connected with you all in the Revolutionary Stance for Life, Liberty and Liberation our spirits shall always be intertwined as one from this point on, so stand proudly, strongly and realistic in the face of adversity and life's challenges

Revolution is about finding a way or making one...

The State is Moving on a Revolutionary Soldier

Death Row fighting for his life and needs your support. The Indiana Parole Board voted unanimously on June 4 to deny a stay of execution. This same body voted with full knowledge of the above facts to execute Ajamu. Now is the time that we must unite and act to save Zion's life!

We are asking all organizations and individuals, who are campaigning against the death penalty, and other organizations fighting for justice, to act now to save the life of Zion Yisrayah. Mail all letters and petitions asking for executive clemency to the people and organizations below.

Zion Yisrayah is on Death Row for an act, the evidence proves, he did not commit, and the prosecutor admits he did not commit. We also take this moment to remind ourselves that had Zion and Ajamu been responsible for the death of the cop we would support them just as adamantly. Self-defense is never a "crime". And we are happy that the two comrades survived the attack in

1980. Remember Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, two Black Panthers who were shot by Chicago police as they slept in their beds. Long Live Zion Yisrayah!

Governor Evan Bayh
Office of the Governor, The State House
Indianapolis, IN 46204
Phone: 317-232-4567 Fax: 317-232-3443

Write letters to papers in Bloomington and Indianapolis:

The Herald-Times,
Robert S. Zaltsberg, editor
1900 South Walnut St. P.O. Box 909
Bloomington, IN 47402

The Ryder, 117 East 3rd St
Bloomington, IN 47401

Send copies of your letter and to get more information write to:

Human Rights Coalition of Indiana,
54125 Maple Lane South Bend, IN 46635
or by e-mail:
Jackie Austin<austin@itis.com>

The execution of Zion Yisrayah (Tommie Smith), who is on death row in Indiana, has been set for June 14th. We have known this date would come. Now it is here. Our past actions were not enough to stop it. Let us do what we still can: publicize this case and speak out against this killing.

On December 11, 1980, in Indianapolis, Indiana, the Indianapolis police department made a pre-dawn raid on the home of Ajamu Nassor and Zion Yisrayah. The men and women in the house were asleep when the police kicked in the door and indiscriminately started firing and throwing tear gas inside of the home, leaving Zion Yisrayah wounded and Sgt. Jack Ohrberg of the Indianapolis Police Department dead.

It was determined at the time that Sgt. Ohrberg had been shot in the back and that the bullet that killed him did not come from either of the guns within the house. Most importantly, when this cop was shot, he had been facing Ajamu and Zion. The evidence is clear that this cop was killed by someone behind him and only police officers were in that position.

Zion, Ajamu, and another resident of the house Kondo Nassor, were politically active and had a history of exchanges with the local police because of their stand against social injustices perpetrated against Blacks in the community.

Ajamu Nassor and Zion Yisrayah both recieved the death sentence for the death of Police Sgt. Jack Ohrberg.

The prosecutors and Governor Evan

Bayh both have publicly acknowledged and admitted in all the major newspapers in this state that Ohrberg was in fact shot in the back and that neither of the guns found in the house was the murder weapon.

On December 8, 1994, at 12:13 a.m., the Indiana Department of Corrections executed and pronounced Ajamu Nassor dead. The Attorney General's office admitted that the evidence revealed that Ajamu probably did not even fire a weapon, and if he did the weapon that he would have fired was not the weapon that discharged the rounds that killed Ohrberg. Human rights workers in Indiana reported that 40,000 letters had been written on behalf of Ajamu, requesting clemency. All these voices went unheeded. Ajamu's father, Beverly Resnover, predicted that no judge would save his son: "There is no hope from the courts, the definitely want to see him die" Ajamu himself refused to accept his death willingly, did not want to wear the hood over his head, and was forced to do so. Ajamu's wish was to expose the injustice and brutality carried out by the state. Gregory Barnett, Ajamu's son, then age 18, witnessed his father's killing. He could barely walk out of the room after the execution.

Zion Yisrayah is now sitting on

Long Live Zion Yisrayah!

Letter from Pendleton Indiana

Greetings to you...When I read of the proposal that was born as a result of my friend's death I tripped. I knew Ajamu Nassor (sn Gregory Resnover) well. We grew up together in the streets of Indianapolis, IN. We called him 'Gizmo'. Its phucked up cause on the night of his murder by the state, the very hour and minute of his execution, I was writing a letter to another friend in New York. I was writing about him 'Giz' in particular but also all the other hims who have been taken from us by the murdering doggs that call themselves correctional officials!

What burns me up is that I can now see the shit that's happenin all across amerikkka especially to young Afrikans. Its obvious we aren't really amerikkans although a bunch of us act as agents in the Bitch's behalf, mostly unwittingly. Believe me I know personally. We claim a turf that ain't ours in the first place and defend it to the death of our own selves just to sell some mutha phuckin rocks to one of our own sisters brothers mothers fathers and even have the audacity to talk shit about the people who buy the dope we supply 'em with then turn around and 'trick' with the socalled 'fiend' and degrade them even further. While back at the crib the baby' cryin for Momma and some milk for the generic cereal, if there's that after

the mutha phuckin food stamps been blown. Kill a human being bout a dub sack and brag while guzzlin down a forty of liquid crack -- Old English, the same muthaphuckas that enslaved us in the first place. 33 crowns on the bottle (count 'em). 33 crowns was the price paid for every Afrikan that stepped off the ship alive. Stupid fools! Me too cause I didn't know and I'm not even sure I'd have cared back then. Black people don't manufacture drugs, or guns, or the booze but our communities are bursting at the seams with the shit. WHY?

Why will I kill a Afrikan and yet bow down to my real enemies. Why will I call a Black woman and mother a bitch, a ho, a skeezer, a hood rat. Why will I call a man Black like myself a nigga, and if a white person says the same he gets the beat down. How can I bump and pound to some studio gangsta that would last a day in the hood talking that ho, bitch shit. Why they ain't kickin shit about the muthaphuckas dats pimping they ass. Got us killin our selves a thousand ways while they laugh with the real bank.

We gotta wake up and turn dis shit around but not to be like him.

I am not a hater of white people. I hate how the powers that be have used them. Klans men are some ignorant people, pawns that are hated themselves by the super rich. They hate me while all the while white supremacy has its dick buried off in their ass. So we all gotta come together and shake this

yoke, whites, blacks, gays and lesbians, feminists, children, elderly, handicaps. We are all in this shit together and we all got to get out of it together. One or two out, that ain't no good. Malcolm X said No Sell Out And By Any Means Necessary.

I'm up and coming on these new understandings and political ideologies. I don't know much but I do know I'd rather give my life to the struggle of

over throwing human/class/race oppression than to die an unfullfilled life in the streets of amerikkka which is a prison anyway.

Malcolm X also wrote "there are no conscious people who do not belong to an organization". I'm looking for some people to grow with to fight with. I guess when I'm ready my mentor will appear.

Sterling Carr



Zolo Agona Azania

Another Comrade on X-Row

Zolo Agona Azania is a Muslim and a conscious New Afrikan Freedom Fighter. He was born Rufus Lee Averhart on December 12, 1954. He changed his name in 1977. He is a writer and an accomplished artist. His specialty is oil painting. He is the author of several works including, "Who Is The New Afrikan?" "World Gangsters" and "Our National Name". His work has appeared in the pages of CROSSROAD and other magazines, newsletters, and journals throughout the world. He has illustrated books by Prince Cuba, Gamba Mateen Rastafari, and Adib Rashad's "Aspects of Eurocentric Thought".

An ex-offender and tireless activist on behalf of the downtrodden, Zolo Agona Azania (a.k.a. Rufus Averhart) was a marked man. On August 11, 1981, on his way to the grocery store, Azania was stopped by the police, handcuffed, pistol-whipped and arrested without warrant or explanation. The next day the prosecutor filed death penalty charges for the murder of a Gary, Indiana police officer during a bank robbery. Azania was not advised of his rights nor read an arrest warrant of any kind. There was no preliminary hearing, no pre-trial identification, no evidence presented for probable cause for arrest. Instead, he was held incommunicado at the county jail for nine days. On the tenth day, the prosecutor (Lake County, Indiana) secured a Grand Jury indictment based on false and misleading evidence. A paraffina gunshot residue (GSR) test performed on Azania's hands by the police shortly after his arrest, showed that he hadn't fired a gun.

Zolo Agona Azania should be set free. Please write or call Governor Bayh on Zolo Agona Azania's behalf, demanding that he be unharmed and granted immediate release from imprisonment. Refer to Case Number CR-81-401. Please send copies of your letters to
Brother Zolo Agona Azania,
#4969 at Indiana State Prison,
P.O. Box 41,
Michigan City, IN 46361-0041.

Mr. Evan Bayh, governor
State House, Room 206
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204 // (317) 232-4567

For more information please contact Zolo's attorneys:
Mr. Isaiah Skip Gant, Esq.
222 Second Ave, Ste 415
Nashville, TN 37201 // (614) 259-0072

Azania On Art

"Culture is an indispensable weapon in the freedom struggle. We must take hold of it and forge the future with the past."

- Malcolm X
(El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz)

As far back as i can remember, i've always had an interest in drawing pictures. i have liked drawing since childhood. i wanted to be a cartoonist; then i aspired to be an architect. i studied drafting in junior high school in 1967 and in high school in 1972. i work in all mediums of arts and crafts.

My specialty is oil painting.

Brother William "Rooster" Turner taught me how to paint while We were serving time in prison in 1975. I also took a formal art course while in prison and received a certificate for over a thousand hours of training in theory and practice.

Art is an integral part of human culture. i am trying to communicate a sense of self-determination through my art. People can create their own way of life like an artist can create a painting on canvas. i am trying to communicate to the poor and oppressed a vision of hope and a solution as to what must be done to change our environment. There is another way of thinking, independent of the enemy (oppressor) ideology; and i try hard to communicate this message through my art.

Ernie Barnes Rooster and the millions of Afrikan and indigenous Indians are my favorite artists. Most are unknown and unrecognized for their great and magnificent contributions to an advanced civilization in harmony with nature prior to European, and in some instances, Arab conquest. Art is a standard by which civilizations are measured.

Art is an integral part of culture, and culture is a complete way of life. The living and dead speaks through their art which indicates many things, including the growth and development of that society. For example, the only bona fide records that prove the existence of many tribes or nations of antiquity -- that they did in fact once live -- is revealed by the unearthing of remnants of their artifacts.

Contemporary artists who are also comrades here at Indiana State Prison which

i would like for others to know about are Brothers Kondo Nassor, Carlos Vaden and Lumumba. They are productive New Afrikans. Black folks need to have national consciousness here in amerikkka as a sense

of their worth and identity. A nationally conscious people are in constant movement toward building and constructing their society providing for their basic material and spiritual needs. And in the case of being destroyed or conquered, a nationally conscious people are in the process of organizing a movement to rebuild what was destroyed. i attempt via my art to cultivate this national or social consciousness by giving Black folks in particular a clear vision of an objective goal in relation to the past. i try to make people think in terms of revolutionary change and to fight for that change on every level of society. My art is New Afrikan revolutionary art.

All artists are imitators of life and what We think death is. In my estimation, contemporary 'Black' art as a whole is a diverse sub-culture rising. It's a fusion of cultures. The commercialization of contemporary 'Black' art is counter-productive because it imitates what is pleasing to the enemy (our conquerors the colonialists). Money becomes the motivating factor as opposed to organization and movement independent of the enemy. Revolutionary change takes place in the mind first. When the enemy controls Our art (culture), they also control Our thinking. They dictate what We are to think and do that is acceptable to them.

The Black contemporary artist must produce art that inspires or motivates the poor and oppressed to be free and independent in every respect. People who fight for their freedom and take it are dignified and highly admired.

As-Salaam Alaiku
Rebuild to Win!

Brother Zolo Agona Azania #4969
Indiana State Prison
Death Row

Maryland's Racist Imprisonment Binge

by Jennifer E. Smith

Introduction

In 1730 slaves represented one-third of Maryland's inhabitants, and today, in 1995, over 22,000 constitutionally mandated slaves and another 110,000 individuals on pass -- regulated movement -- cleverly described as probation or parole, are increasing its percentage of the state's black population. In 1990 Maryland had the second highest per capita rate under correctional supervision in the nation at 3.31 percent, trailing only Texas. However, this figure is for Maryland's total population. A breakdown by race supports the startling statistic that blacks are 8.5 times more likely to go to prison than whites. The rates for blacks entrapped in the criminal justice web in Maryland is pathetic at 11%. Even more astonishing are the increased frequencies for Baltimore City, Prince Georges County, and Baltimore County. The 1992 finding that 56% of black men aged 18-35 in Baltimore were under some form of criminal justice control was indicative of the "free state's" failure to provide economic opportunity and ensure racial equality for all its residents.

The de-citizenship of African Americans is primarily achieved through criminalization. The implementation of mass incarceration eliminates access to participation in the democratic process. As blacks are over-represented in the criminal justice system, the destruction of the black community through the loss of black political power, both potential and actual, is inevitable. Those labelled "felon offenders" suffer both from loss of voting privileges and lack of access to employment and educational opportunities even after their release from prison. A compounding impact of institutionalization is the absolute cold, hard fact that the prison apparatus is releasing individuals who are embittered and hardened by the cruelty of prison life as they are cast back into the community with family ties severed and little or no survival skills. However, the media, primarily a propaganda device of the establishment, has been successful in projecting the armed and dangerous black man and black woman to millions with the underlying intention of creating a terrorized, fearful public. In particular, the campaign has spearheaded an even more dangerous trend of linking genetics to crime. If the black community is going to survive the U.S. war on crime, the statistics of mass incarceration must be decoded and the serious implications pondered. From this understanding, a plan of action to reverse this trend must be undertaken.

Historical Development of Control Mechanisms

A closer look at the dynamics driving Maryland's racist incarceration binge is required to understand that the lock'em up crusade is actually an extension of the slave codes. Incarceration has little to do with the reduction of crime as the incidence rate of murder, robbery and rape continue to increase as quickly as America lock's away its future. In the report "The Continuing Crime of Black Imprisonment" the assertion that "most crime does not result in imprisonment,

nor is it even considered a crime" is true, particularly when one examines what societal behavior is regulated in this country and what is not. Criminalization is the ruling class' tool of dictatorship. By defining the perimeters of just who will be labelled criminals and just what will be defined as crime, the economic and political well-being of a class of people is systematically controlled. Rape, murder, kidnapping and theft is nothing new to this country. In fact, the use of what is now defined as "criminal behavior" was the tool by which the "home of the brave" was founded. Land was stolen from the Native Americans. Construction labor was kidnapped from Africa. Women served as voiceless incubators to insure that a system of patriarchy, a system of brutality, thrived.

Among the first territories on the North American continent to be conquered was what is now known as Maryland, which was stolen by Charles I, King of England, and granted to Cecilus Calvert in 1632. During the so called period of "settlement", a steady flow of human cargo from Africa was imported to the plantations. In the interim, frequent and vicious fights over religious freedom, territorial claims and tax disputes erupted in protests, riots and battles. As the conflict waged on, Maryland introduced a series of methods and laws which controlled the activities of its slave population. These actions were primarily anti-family, anti-communal slave codes enforced to guarantee the deformation of spiritual, cultural, political and intellectual development as the number of blacks increased to a third of Maryland's population. As a result, the slave population, human machinery for plantation owners, suffered from constant repression. It is no wonder that after slaves were emancipated by the State Constitution of 1864, African-Americans in Maryland's rural counties steadily decreased. However, there was no escaping control mechanisms. During the period of the Industrial revolution, when a mass exodus from Maryland's plantations to Baltimore city occurred, attempts to control a population segment upstanding practitioners of inhumanity considered to be dangerous continued. Hence, the onset of Maryland's racist imprisonment binge began with the mass movement, by way of criminalization, from plantation to penitentiary. The transference of black chattel from slavery to incarceration has largely occurred in little over a century under the guise of "law and order" politics.

Critical to the transitional period, the Maryland Penitentiary, authorized in 1804 and operational in 1811, one of this country's oldest prisons, played a pivotal role as it was a co-ed facility up until 1939, housing women in separate quarters. The nearly 200 year old structure stands as monument to the brutality of this country. It's faded gray brick structure is a gloomy reminder of the nightmare of inequality, historically and presently, faced by blacks in this country. Today it is a warehouse, complete with execution chamber, for over 2,000 individuals facing long arduous years in prison. Looming behind the shadows contrasting Baltimore's high rise corporate office

buildings and government projects, it is a pathetic reminder that blacks continue to be subjected to "lock and key" tactics of control.

Understanding the function of Maryland's racist imprisonment binge requires historical examination of the development of control mechanisms by which it validates its current practice of mass incarceration. In 1664, two centuries ago, the colony had sanctioned by law a "life sentence" for slaves, the model for today's "truth in sentencing" advocates. As Maryland was the seventh state ratified by the U.S. constitution in 1788, it was one of this country's forerunners of brutality with its long barbaric practice of raping, murdering and exploiting black men, women, and children by the thousands. Today it is a charter member of the southern block region which leads the country with the highest incarceration rate in the world.

The preparation for the new control device of imprisonment began with the development of a prison system as the Maryland Penitentiary was constructed in the early 1800s. Implementing further expansion, the establishment of a penal colony in Jessup, Maryland began in 1874 with the authorization of the Maryland House of Corrections, which opened in 1879. In a bid to establish the second major colony, the planning of the Maryland State Penal Farm began in 1931, but did not actually open until 1945 in Hagerstown, located in the southwestern part of the state. In both Hagerstown and Jessup, the prison industry by the 1970s when the mass incarceration binge began, was central to the economics of both areas. Also note that other major institutions were constructed in areas such as Westover, Sykesville, Churchill and Quantico. Baltimore, although pivotal in the shift from plantation to penitentiary, is excluded for the reason that corrections was not one of the city's central industries.

Although the first prisoners, like the original slaves (indentured servants), were mainly white, the overwhelming numbers eventually became black. As with the re-activation of the death penalty in 1976, subjects of executions were initially majority white, while the scores of victims lined up on death row were black. After slavery developed further, poor whites, released of servitude, were elevated to the role of overseer. The same pattern can be identified in the early development of incarceration in this country. In the beginning whites made up the majority of those imprisoned; however as the system of control evolved and slave codes were no longer enforced, coupled with a massive influx of blacks to urban areas, the system adjusted accordingly. This explains the establishment of penal colonies in white communities devastated by the civil war. The budding prison industry provided minimal employment for poor whites, segregating two low-income groups in a vacuum of harshness, creating dynamics for racial tension. The construction and planning of prisons developed another control mechanism for the maintenance of white supremacy.

Current Trends in Maryland's Prison Industry

Today, in 1995, after the cosmetic changes bargained for by the civil rights inspired affirmative action integration era, the prison system provides jobs for blacks as well as whites. In fact, it employs over 4,500, which includes some 3,700 correctional officers and only 75 psychologists and social workers, in the State of Maryland as the business of prison administration is the third largest growth industry in the United States. Hagerstown and Jessup warehouse 73.5% of Maryland's prisoners. However, 76% of those cast into 6' x 8' dungeons are black. The financial benefactors of the booming industry, a lucrative business venue for contractors, are white. With the passing of the Omnibus Crime Bill, which encourages even more criminalization along with stiffer sentences, one can expect increases in every offense category. Criminologists John Irwin and James Austin in *It's About Time* estimated that the Crime Bill will ensure nine times the current amount of people will be incarcerated in prison. This figure equates to a forecast of over 198,000 Marylanders being imprisoned in the State of Maryland in the next several years.

The Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services, which has "statewide responsibility for the control and reduction of crime, maintenance of public order, and control and rehabilitation of adjudicated individuals on probation, incarcerated in State correctional facilities, or on parole", is racing with lock and key to greet new intakes at the cell door. As the "major emphasis of the Department's capital program is to provide additional bed capacity to house the increasing inmate population, the FY 1995-FY 1999 Capital Improvement Program includes a 720 cell medium security correctional facility for men in Allegheny County, a 420-bed minimum security facility for women, and an expansion of the Baltimore City Detention Center to house 811 pretrial inmates from Baltimore City and a Central Booking and Intake Facility.

Implications of Mass Incarceration for Black Political Power in Maryland

While many of Maryland's black elected state officials have been reluctant to take a leading role in introducing and/or supporting legislation that would help turn back Maryland's racist incarceration binge, it is certain that such a trend will lead to further decline and destruction of black political power in Maryland through de-citizenship. Felons, for instance, lose their voting privileges, either temporarily or permanently. In juxtaposition is the fact that voting is not actually a privilege, but a fundamental right in a democratic society. Strangely enough, the dichotomy presented by stripping individuals of the right to vote is that just what society considers to be criminal and how it should be handled is not voted on by all members of its citizenry who elect to participate in the democratic process. The process of de-

citizenizing individuals -
disproportionately black at that -
guarantees the maintenance of the status
quo, as one is not allowed to vote on or
support de-criminalization as, for
example, stockholders of corporations
are able to focus on backing candidates
who support de-regulation of their
respective industries.

African-American elected officials
primarily win their electoral seats by
winning the "black vote". Simply put:
no voters, no vote. Maryland's Black
Caucus, by failing to take a leading role
in forging a spotlight on pertinent
criminal justice issues, guarantees in an
era of republican backlash return to ol'
slave politics of no representation.

TOWARDS A NEW SLICE OF HELL: THE MCAC IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

From 1989 through 1991, the
Maryland Division of Corrections
introduced a new slice of hell to define
the "end of the line" of the state penal
railroad. The MCAC, a newly
constructed "state of the art" prison
overtly modeled after USP Marion was
built to house 288 inmates under 22-
hour a day isolation in 65 square foot
cells. It operated with essentially no
outside recreation for inmates, non-
contact visits (inmates at the MCAC
can only get less than three hours of
visits a month anyway), and conditions
of 22 or more hour a day lock-down.
-"innovations" which reflected the
national trend during the 1980s of using
total or small-group isolation, denial of
inmates' rights to own any kind of
personal property, and lack of human
contact as experiments in "behavior
modification" on selected groups of
inmates.

The problem of building a supermax
prison in a central city landscape, in a
city with an imprisonment rate as out of
control as Baltimore's, was a real
challenge for prisoncrats. Contrary to
the general trend towards building
prison in rural, mostly white areas,
where the established racial tensions and
stereotypes of "city folks" can be
exploited easily to maintain conflicts
where guards inevitably have the
undisputed upper hand, the MCAC
opened into a purely neocolonial terrain,
where the definition of "guard" and
"prisoner" -- and those of "prison" and
"outside" -- were not nearly so well
defined. The prisoners and guards were
both nearly homogeneously African, the
surrounding neighborhood (if that word
has any social nuances anymore) is
African and poor, and badly scarred from
a thirty-year campaign of spatial
deconcentration that still rages today. It
took several years for the strategists at
the Division of Corrections finally to
establish near-total control over the
inmates at the new joint.

A prisoner arriving at the MCAC
fresh out of Pelican Bay in California in
the early '90s wrote,

*This supermax, in comparison to
Pelican Bay, is the difference between
day and night... I think, no I know for
a fact, why we don't get the kind of
crazy treatment like at Pelican Bay. It's
mainly because the inmates know most
of the guards here because they live
right here in Baltimore; either they
know them personally or someone in
their family. Another reason we don't
have that kind of abuse ... is because of
the location of the prison. This prison
location is about four block from a
major housing project. Could you
picture them jumping on someone here
and one of these guys getting word to
his homeboys to spray this place with
bullets, or maybe setting some cars on
fire, or maybe having someone go to
the guard's house.*

The general experience of prisoners
before '92 or '93 was that the prison was
relatively mild, compared to what it has
since become or to other control units
in the country. At least some of the
time guards and inmates had to relate
on a human level, and as a result, there
was a level of mutual respect and
tolerance. Fights between inmates
would be broken up by guards and,
while the individuals involved would
be punished, it generally wouldn't be
used as an excuse for a beating or a total
lock-down. When tensions ran high,
there were usually outlets for prisoners
to assert some self-respect and resistance
and still emerge from the situation with
their bones and dignity mostly intact.
When things got too out of hand,
prisoners had the power of the between
the bars organizing that had been built
up: friends "outside" could be counted
on to "straighten out" guards who got
out of line. All of these were obstacles
to state control which would soon be
surmounted or eliminated.

One sunny morning in July of 1995
a curious, nervous crowd gathered to
witness the highly publicized implosion
of the Lafayette Courts housing project
complex. It was the "end of an era in
the city's housing policy", as the media
proclaimed proud and loud. News
articles played up the incidence of drugs
and crime in the projects, the rat
population which had established itself

there and the structural weakness of the
buildings themselves -- as if the main
motivation was concern for the residents
there. As of a couple of days before the
demolition, the city had not found new
housing for nearly a third of the
residents, so the concerns were clearly
not humanitarian. Where, but in the
mouths of politicians does concern for
the safety of a people lead to their
homes being blown up, leaving them
homeless in the streets? The
demolition had more to do with a
general plan for
redevelopment/decimation of the Old
Town-Lower Homewood area of the
city, which includes the prison
complex. It fit nicely into the prison
authorities plans to break up the
strongest source of support that
prisoners had.

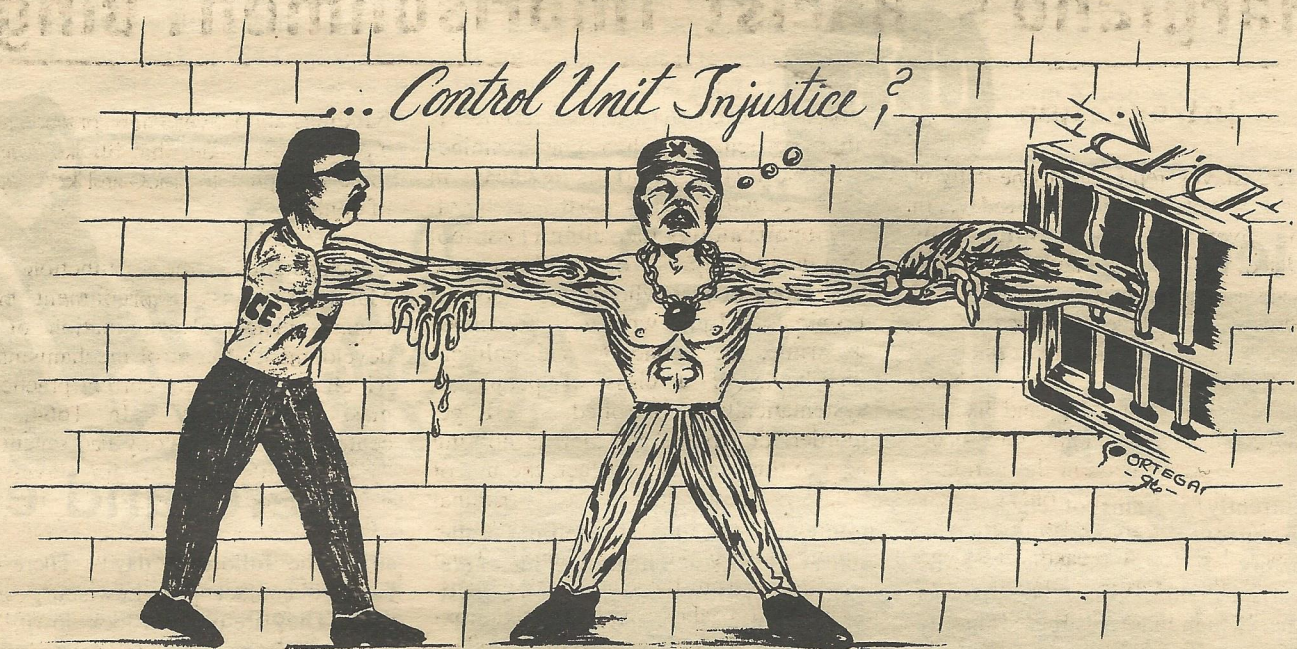
The steady breaking up of outside
contacts opens the way for an escalation
of violence inside the prison, as a way
of letting people know that the balance
of power is shifting. A major turning
point for many prisoners was the
beating of Bruce Wise in the spring of
1994. With his hands and ankles in
shackles, he was beaten by as many as a
dozen officers at once and repeatedly
slammed against the wall. This and
other similar incidents were basically
used to terrorize prisoners out of any
kind of resistance. Once the guards let
it be known that any kind of resistance
would be met, not with human
response, but with dozens of fists,
boots, night sticks, riot helmets and
shots of tear gas, there were few
prisoners who were willing to stand up
for their rights, except in the most
desperate situation.

The level of brutality exercised over
prisoners was sufficient to keep control
for the most part. Very few prisoners
wanted to expose themselves to this
kind of beating. However, in order for a
terrorist strategy to be effective, the
threat had to be restated constantly.
Prisoners had to see beatings--often
hardly provoked--to be reminded of the
seriousness of what they faced should
they forget their "place." Several
prisoners have been seriously assaulted
by guards far out of proportion to
whatever their actual "offense" might
have been. One recent example: On 24
October 1995, Joseph Jenkins (Rahim
Abdullah Shaheed) was dragged out of
his cell in a choke hold and beaten and
poked by several guards with
nightsticks and dragged down the
length of the corridor. Four other officers
joined in the beating, kicking him and
slamming his face into the wall. The
video camera, which is supposed to

record all conflicts between prisoners
and guards, was shut off during this
incident, the only record being
Raheem's blood on the floor, the burises
and scars covering his body and a
nightstick broken during the beating.
We feel that one step outside activists
need to take is fighting to prevent any
more such blatantly terroristic attacks.
Until that point prisoners will be
prevented from any kind of constructive
organizing from pure fear and the
supermax will continue to produce
tortured, scarred, twisted neuroses for
use in the war on the families,
neighborhoods and institutions that
make up the urban underclass -- African,
Native, Chicano, and white. We are
keeping a record of all the incidents of
brutality we hear of, in order to monitor
the situation as well as we can; and we
hope that we and other activists will be
prepared to respond effectively when
another prisoner is beaten, as has
happened so often.

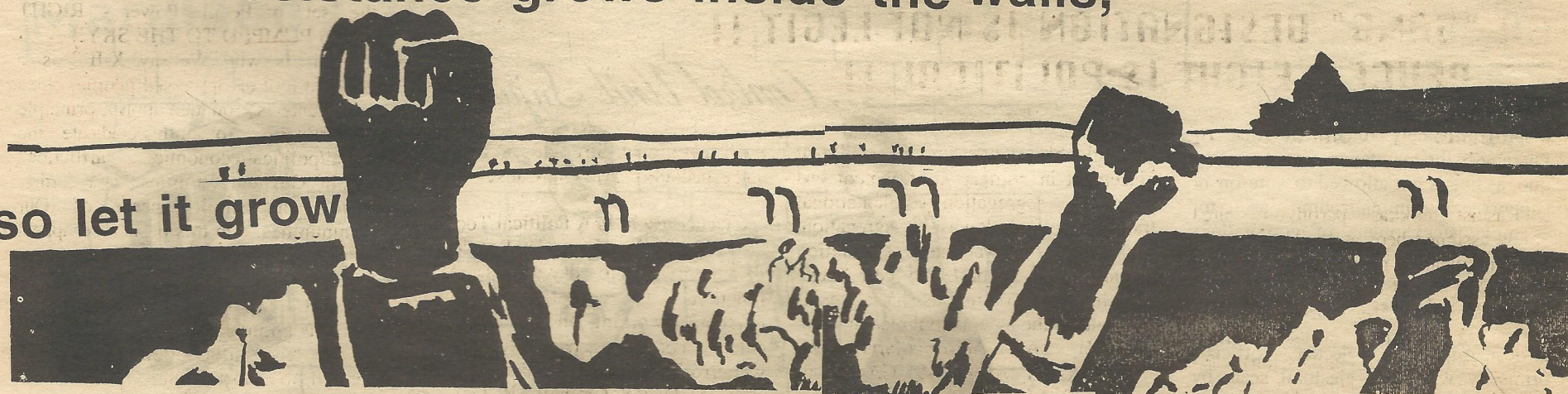
To a degree, the MCAC's campaign
of terrorism "worked". It broke many
prisoners' spirits to the point where they
were no longer recognizable as the
human beings they once were. Walking
around the Mount Vernon neighborhood
of Baltimore, the prison complex is
visible across the highway down the
hill to the east. You can see the fortress
towers of the Maryland Penitentiary and
the beige soulless boxes that are the
new Classification and Diagnostic
Center, but the "worst of the worst" are
out of sight for the most part--except if
you look around at the burnt-out wide-
eyed homeless people hanging out on
street corners, in front of the 7-11, in
fear of anyone who passes by. These
people were not always like this. A lot
of them have done time in the torture
cells and been released to society, weak,
broken, unable to escape more than a
few blocks from the torturer, let alone
"rehabilitate into society" or any other
such nonsense. One prisoner wrote after
finally getting a transfer out of the
MCAC:

*Everybody knows the Supermax
Prisoners when they are transferred out
to a lower security level because of the
extreme paranoia and the enormous
amount of weight loss. When I was
transferred out of Supermax after three
years I found myself walking back and
forward and brothers would ask me
what was wrong. I would say that old
habits die hard. I walked back and
forth like that to think, to exercise, and
to keep warm while the cold blowers
were being used to force prisoners to
stay in their beds.*



as the resistance grows inside the walls,

so let it grow



here and everywhere else

Currently 5 grams of crack which has a street value of \$225 gets a mandatory 5 year sentence. By comparison, 500 grams of powder cocaine, which has a street value of \$50,000 gets a maximum of 5 years in prison or as low as probation. This means that those arrested and convicted of crack possession get a 100% higher sentence than those convicted of powder cocaine possession. 14,000 of 90,000 federal prisoners are serving time under the crack laws: 88.3% are Black, 7.1% are Latino and 4.1% are white.

The Sentencing Project recently came out with statistics stating that 1 out of 3 Black men in the US are under some form of judicial restriction: jail, prison, probation or parole. In Washington, DC the statistic is 46% - almost 1 out of 2; in Baltimore, the statistic is even higher at 52% - 1 out of every 2 Black men. In New York state 91% of the prison population comes from New York City; these boroughs are predominantly Black, Latino, and Poor. A New York state study done by the Drug Enforcement Agency, found that 71% of the people who use drugs and 56% who sell drugs are white and middle class. Yet 91% of

Following the first rebellions, the Bureau of Prisons instituted an entire system lock-down: this was the first ever system-wide lockdown by the BOP. Here is a listing of the prisons and any information that could be compiled about what happened there and what we knew of their status as of December, 1995.

Talledega, AL Friday, Oct 20 -- This was the first prison to rebel. 12 prisoners and guards were injured. One of the fire fighters at the scene told CNN "It was like a war zone. There were gunshots going off and some explosions going and you had helicopters overhead."

Allenwood, PA Oct 21 -- Prisoners refused to return to their cells. This occurred in the FCI. The maximum security prison was being slowly lifted off the lock-down and was returning to normal.

Memphis, TN Friday, Oct. 20 -- Over 50 prisoners and guards were treated for smoke inhalation. \$5 million damage was done to the prison. A fire department official stated "These buildings were very heavily damaged and will probably have to be torn down."

strike the following day. There has been no contact with Lewisburg since then. They are on total lock-down. No personal phone calls or visits, unless there is a court date within 2 weeks and legal visits are restricted to W,T,F 12-2.

Leavenworth, KS There was a fire in the library of the maximum security prison. All of the guards from the LVC were working 12 hour shifts. As of November 2 they were still locked-down but visits were allowed.

Pekill, IL. This is a woman's prison. there is not much information available about what happened.

Dublin, CA Oct. 23 - the women were forced to go to work after being locked-down in BOP wide lock-down. The prisoners became angry and began boycotting meals. Monday night several trash cans were set on fire. Within 1/2 hours all the prisoners were again locked into their cells. An investigation was begun and women were sent to the hole. Paul Laird, Exec. Assistant to the Warden issued this statement on November 1: In part it said: "There was a general lock down to restrict movement on October 20.

There has been almost a total black out by the BOP on what is happening at the prisons. Most information has come through visits and telephone calls. As a result this account is very limited. Also, much has gone on since this information got out. Any further information on the uprisings, their repression, and the current situation in the prisons needs to get out.

Contact the following:

Prison Activists Resource Center
P.O. Box 3201
Berkeley, CA 94703
516-845-8813
prisondesk@igc.apc.org

Committee To End the Marion Lockdown
P.O. Box 578172
Chicago, IL 60657

The Federal Prison Rebellions of October 1995

people who are in prison for drug charges are Black and Latino (41% Latino, 50% Black). The Los Angeles Times reported that no white person has ever been convicted of a crack offense in the federal courts of Boston, Denver, Chicago, Los Angeles, Dallas or Miami.

In February 1995, the US Sentencing Commission recommended that sentencing be changed for crack cocaine, which sends predominantly Black and Latino people to prison. At the end of October, the US Congress voted down changing the laws for first time crack offenders by a margin of 332 to 89. With over 500 recommendations approved, this is the first time that Congress over-ruled the Sentencing Commission's recommendation. President Clinton then immediately signed this bill (Senate Bill 1245) into law with the justification that "crack carries with it so many devastating social ills". Meanwhile the US Supreme Court has ruled that it will hear an appeal of a case involving allegations that Los Angeles prosecutors selectively prosecuted Blacks under federal crack trafficking laws instead of less severe state laws. The suit is based on the fact that of 24 cases closed by the federal public defender's office in Los Angeles, all 24 defendants were Black. The case will be decided by July.

In the 48 hours following congress' vote against changes to the crack laws, prisoners at 5 prisons rebelled.

Greenville, IL Oct 20-21 -- Responding to the attempted imposition of the federal lock-down order, prisoners take over an accommodation and others refuse to return to their cells, according to the BOP. CNN reported that the prisoners held the area for two days.

McKean, PA Oct 24-Prisoners seized and controlled 4 cell blocks where over 300 prisoners are caged for over 7 hours. Fires were lit, appliances were destroyed and furniture tossed out windows. It is assumed that they are still locked-down.

Lompoc, CA There have been many unconfirmed rumors. The most concerning is that there was a hostage taking. It is assumed that it is still locked-down.

Lewisburg, PA Oct. 24, - several prisoners refused to lock-in one of the lower security units. The riot squad tear gassed, cuffed and dragged out the entire unit, two floors of an adjacent unit and anyone caught on videotape in windows. They proceeded to clear out another housing unit, strip the cells of mattresses, shelves, desks, anything wooden and create a segregation unit. They have begun to cut food slots in the door, presumably to make this into a permanent seg unit. The entire prison was locked-down.

Nov. 1 - housing units were being let out to have hot meals and yard time one at a time and the lock-down was slowly being lifted. After the evening meal several units planned to go on a work

October 23, two trash cans were set afire. People were charged with a number of incidents including refusal to leave areas, refusal to go to their rooms, insolence and arson.

El Reno, OK No real information
Terminal Island, CA No real information.

Mariana, FL Rumors are that they locked-down because of a work strike.

Atlanta, GA No information on rebellion. They apparently went on a work strike and the prison is completely locked-down; rumors have ranged from 3 weeks to 6 months.

Raybrook, NY Rumor was that they used stun guns to put down whatever happened in the prison.

Fairton, NJ No real information
Springfield, IL No real information.

Florence, CO Report in local paper of fires in the medium security prison.

West Tennessee detention facility trashed.

October 29, -- a rebellion broke out in a privately run prison which holds prisoners from North Carolina. Prisoners were demanding to be held in their native state of North Carolina. Over 100 prisoners seized the facility, smashing toilets, sinks and knocking a hole in a dorm wall. Guards at the facility took control through the use of pepper spray. The prisoners have been relocated to the Shelby County jail in Memphis, 40 miles away.

feeding the fire next time

Recognizing that the conditions that led to the rebellion still exist and are intensifying, we should expect more rebellions in all the prisons. Next time we need to be in a better spot to give assistance. What would be useful acts of solidarity? The rebellions were a moment in time when the damned rose out of oblivion to be heard. But the media didn't barely mention it. Next time we've got to take the voice of the prisoners directly to people. That the rising of prisoners becomes another point of awakening for all who learn of it, that should be our goal. The rebellion will not yet tear down prison walls and set the captives free. For now it is just a "demonstration". It is an opportunity to create dialog in the community on the drug war, the police, the prisons, gentrification, and the whole genocidal onslaught. To move us closer to a unity from which we can take action. How to create this dialog?

The groundwork for such a dialog must be laid now. People need to establish communication with prisoners, to support prisoners either one to one or by way of organizations. All radical or community based organizations even if they are not connected to prison work should make connections with prisoners as part of

DA "GANG" DESIGNATION IS NOT LEGIT !!

X - DEUCE - EIGHT IS POLITICAL !!

URGENT! --Comrades of Humanity:

Fascist tekkkas' paronymic hired goons assigned here at the ...Cqmmm, cqmmm (clearing my throat for "proper" intonation) Alfred Hughes Unit -- have, since December 31, 1995, effectively actuated a campaign of whiteriorism (white racist brutal aggression), and intense material and sensory repression against any Sable (Afrikan) politically active prisoner directly affiliated with the only functional, open and progressively active liberational organization inside the tekkkas penal/corporate network -- X-Deuce-Eight. Prison (pig) authorities -in every unjust, illegal, and incorrect way imaginable- have attempted to cause the dissipation and squandering of Our ranks and ability to constructively influence other politically unconcious oppressed prisoners by physically seperating all positively identified Deuces (soldiers serving the people through X-Deuce-8) through the irregular prison selling (transfers) and cell (cage) changing to create instability and a sense of unfamiliarity with other prisoners, surroundings and pig personnel; Prison lock-downs to obstruct Our ability to purchase prison store items and thereby secure the necessary writing and typing materials needed to create and disseminate Our socio-political/economic programs, any legal defenses against the state's illegal actions, as well as to limit Our ability to interact with other oppressed CONedVICTims; Brutal executing of the penal/coporate agency's "use of force" policy: A strictly fascistic tactic utilized by pigs to justifiably beat and physically humiliate all prisoners, though principally only the Sable and brown prisoners confined to what is defined as "klose-kustody/high-security", to dissuade others from joining or implementing radical prison campaigns in defense of the Human Being's inalienable rights to life, liberty and self-defense; And the falsification of institutional infraction reports varying from allegations specifically condemning Our political activities -- stigmatizing Our liberation efforts as "gang-related" -- to the very malfeasant citations such as "threatening correctional officers" or "conspiracy to incite insurrections" etc., meant to stain the Deuce Soldier's prison record, lessening parole possibilities as well as admittance into traditional educational/job training programs.

My close Comrade, Anthony "Awupathwa X" Stribling, X-Deuce-8's Central Chairman of Law, has been subjected to the plantational trading-block, transfer-block...whichever phrase fits, and additionally punished by the TDCJ Michael Unit's racist regime who have initiated infraction reports (TDCJ disciplinary report #950231694) against this righteous Brotha for simply trading communication through the kulture's postal system with this author, subjecting this Brotha to loss of "good time" and privileges and material deprivations --Because this Sable Man had the courage to stand up, be heard and hear other of his general kind.

This author's similar adversities (the illegal siezure of personal property and political documents, fabricated

institutional infractions, illegal placement in solitary konfinement and punitive segregation, plantational transfers, lock-downs, segregation, censorship, unwarranted visitation denials, daily verbal and cell (cage) assaults, and continuous harrassment) precipitated the federal civil pleading Re: MARSH (Al Adib Maris) VS ACOSTA, ET AL-- W-95-CA-331 in the U.S. District Court, Waco Division, citing violations of this author's 1st and 14th Constitutional Amendment Rights. Now the repression has intensified...

GANG RELATED:

As many as 100 Sable (Afrikan) CONedVICTims have been isolated in either adminstrative segregation or racial segregation on the basis of A Hughes racist regime's "gang-related" identification process -- A process founded princply upon unreliable hearsay evidence acquired from prison snitches (bothe the state pig and proto-pig-prisoner type), kriminal records, and racist stereotyping of any rebellious or Sable Islamic nationalists. Politically conscious prisoners are added to this list when they verge, or become, progressively active, and attempt to wage ideological and organizational struggle within the konfines of the prison.

This has now become the case with X-Deuce-Eight, though We as a group have yet to become identified by the Hughes' fascist regime as a disruptive group as is required by TDCJ's administrative directive 04.10 before prisoners can be legitimately punished for group activities. Our efforts to establish the base for ideological, spiritual, mental, and defensive unity, support and freedom (the ultimate agenda of X-II-8) has been broadly generalized by elements within the system as "gang-related", for one (#1) reason because We have not chosen to organize under the letter of the laws of tekkkas; and for two (#2), because this racist regime, in the process of monitoring and illegally seizing Our writings and literature, may observe the term "revolution" here, of the phrase "down with kkkapitalism" there, and define Our rhetoric as inflammatory, irresponsible, and The Deuce as inflammatory and irresponsible. On the other hand, white CONedVICTims can talk and write about "niggas" 24/7 through the conventional and unconventional prison wire and not be subjected to even a finger-wagging by the Hughes' racist regime, let alone the crushing force of their repressive wrath as most Sable political prison activists are. Or course, We understand why. But this does not mean that the reasoning has to be accepted, definitely not tolerated.

Humanity's Freedom Fighters Worldwide!! -- Your Comrades in service of Truth, Justice, Correctness, and Liberation beckon you in the collective spirit of Solidarity, with unified bllicious backbones opposed just as Our sacrificed Comrades of yesteryear and today to the burdensome racist, [mysogynist], homophobic, parasitic, puritanical oppression of righteous people, to listen and witness Our Cause, accept Our Cause as one with yours and

the Liberational Struggle as a whole, and especially -- Aid Our Cause!

X-Deuce-Eight Is A Political Tool Of The People -- Everyday People.

On a day to day basis, X-II-8 functions as a grassroot social movement working on the community cuts, corners, back-alleys, and whiteriorist prison cellblocks where Our Brothas Under Ground (BUGs) and Sistas Under Ground (SUGs) have been konfined to the hustle. Here they exist as a diverse class of lumpen warriors -- Crips, Bloods, Gangsta Disciples, Vice Lords, Mandingo Warriors, macks, playas, as well as other BUG and SUG peoples/groups/cliques. It is at this point where The Deuce struggles to demonstrate to this klass who "The Enemy" is, how they function, for what ultimate purpose, and how the power of "The Enemy" is, how they function, for what purpose, and how the power of "The Enemy" to harm and mislead people of kolor can be nullified.

It is also a Discipline of The Deuce to help the BUG and SUG overstand that, in reality, there are only eight (8) conditions of life that each and every human/hue-man being must possess and they are:

- (1) Healthy food and water
- (2) Safe and adequate shelter
- (3) Adequate clothing materials
- (4) Relatable and Truthful information (education)
- (5) Complete hygienic items and care
- (6) Justice
- (7) Independent Land and
- (8) Complete Liberation (self-determination)

All people of color must overstand that absolutely no individual, or group of individuals, can logically or legitimately be considered as "The Enemy" of any person of color !UNLESS! they are in obvious and deliberate opposition to that person of color's fundamental and natural right to possess and enjoy any stated condition of the "Basic Eight".

The "Basic Eight", as well as Our economic, political and social disciplines of Sable Egalitarianism, Sable Nationalism, and Sable True Factualism, are the principle Disciplines of mediation used by The Deuce to demonstrate to any tow (2) or more groups/segments/cliques are in aggressive conflict with wone another, that they have absolutely nothing to gain through the application of violence against one another; but, rather, that they have everything to gain by organizing in armed or unarmed, direct or indirect, violence or radical protest against the Collective Whiteriorist Nation (white racists globally), and their many bootlicking lackeys -- The only individuals who have deliberately and maliciously denied oppressed people of color all or many othe require "Basic Eight."

We strive to assist conflicting segments of the oppressed to agree, and/or, attempt to resolve their disputes through the knowledgeable, wise and caring assistance of X-II-8. With and through The Deuce's arbitration all oppressed people of color can learn to unite and iron out petty differences, and when We throw up Our "set" it will be

the "set" of People Power -- RIGHT FISTS PUMPED TO THE SKY!!

This is why We say X-II-8 is a political tool of oppressed people, since Our agenda is grounded upon a principle of struggling to both eradicate the social/political/economic afflictions within Our communities, and further address the similar needs of Our communities. On this basis, We appeal to you to recognize your Brothas and Sistas of this momentous struggle, and assist Us in Our efforts to defeat "tekkkas tyranny." We are in dire need of any legal information that can be donated to substantiate Our political right to organize, and which may further aid Us in Our many legal endeavors in defense of this right; Any assistance that can be provided with postage costs to help Us maintain a consistent line of dialect between Comrades, the courts, legal aids, family, and Our network of allies on the outside; And especially any technological assistance that can be provided for the production of manuals, pamphlets, copies, flyers, and various other literary items for the daily purpose of disseminating conscious raising information, fund raising for projects of the organization, and to continuously expose the arbitrary actions of the tekkkas penal/corporate system. Additionally, writing campaigns in support of Our political endeavors and "alleged" constitutional rights would be of great assistance, particularly in the area of demonstrating to the state that We are supported on the outside and will be defended if there is no other way We can expect, or will ever, oppose and defeat an enemy who's only motto is DEATH!!

Freedom and Peace,
Comrade Al Adib Maris

Contact:
Anthony Marsh (Al Adib Maris)
P.O. Box 4400 -- POW #449654
Gatesville, TX 76597

X-Deuce-Eight
P.O. Box 4161
500 Centre St.
Dallas, TX 75208



Recently two German comrades from the Autonome Antifa (M) organization were on a speaking tour of eastern North America to discuss the repression they are currently experiencing and fighting. The "M" has been charged with being a "criminal organization" under paragraph 129 of the states penal code - a conspiracy law explicitly aimed at leftist "ideological subversion" - and 17 antifascist activists from the city of Göttingen, Lower Saxony, are facing trial as members of a criminal organization. We reprint here, with additional notes of our own, a statement from the group explaining their history and politics and calling for international solidarity.

Political life in Germany seems, to an American observer, to be an unreal fantasy vacation-world; its nearly impossible to imagine the level of militance the German anti-fascist movement has shown being sustained here without much greater repression than this occurring. Its true that the general permissiveness of dissent is much greater, and the depth of public political discourse much more radical, than here in America, where the intertwined histories of settler privileged culture and successful liberal reform movements have thus far worked to prevent any effective revolutionary consciousness from taking root. However, we should also recognize Germany today - as it has been since the end of WWII - as a crucial battlefield in the struggles between the imperialist U.S.-supported state and the anti-imperialist people's movements, between the rise of the racist right-wing opposition and the counter-

offensive of the anti-fascist left - the same struggles that are again beginning to rage openly in this particular Babylon.

Mike Ryan's excellent essay "The Stammheim Model: Judicial Counterinsurgency" (published in *New Studies on the Left*, Spring-Summer 1989) provides an excellent analysis of the decisive role played by the West German state apparatus in repressing the worldwide anti-imperialist movements of the 1960's and 1970's. He points out, to begin with, that from its founding, West Germany was designed as a specifically anti-communist state. Massive economic aid for capitalist reconstruction, rearmament as a military force to challenge the Soviet Union, and "internal security" measures aimed at suppressing leftist opposition were three aspects of the German model which made it an example for the rest of the European world to follow in suppressing and containing dissent. As one particularly vivid example, it is well known that the Stammheim prison, which was built to isolate and break anti-imperialist revolutionaries, was clearly a model for the control unit prisons which spread like cancerous sores across the U.S. during the 1980's.

Today Germany faces an economic crisis and social restructuring much along the

same lines as what we see in Amerikkka. Unemployment is higher now than in the 1930's when the Nazi party was elected. And as in white America, the move from direct military control of colonies to indirect neocolonial economic and political control is confusing many on the fringes of the "native" (settler) society, who are turning to the growing fascist opposition in the belief that the tested and true strategy of social control through authoritarian violence and racist patriarchal terror will serve their interests better than the uncertain future. It is in this context that autonomists, anti-authoritarians, and the rest of the left are going through the process of redefining our struggle; of being a clear pole of autonomous resistance both to the imperialist "establishment" and the fascist "opposition". And in both Germany and the U.S., the state's response has been to reaffirm its tacit alliance with the fascists against those of us struggling for a revolutionary transformation in the institutions, relationships, and exploitations that make up our daily lives.

The fascists don't always have to win, though sometimes it seems that way. Kieran's legal victory a few months back was a source of joy for us. We hope our German comrades can experience the same vindication at some point. However, it is clear that their trial is

meant to ruin them financially and politically no matter what the verdict. The trial is expected to run for several years; court dates are scheduled three days a week for the first year already. The travel expenses and lawyers costs for these 131 days are estimated at almost 3 million dollars! And a guilty verdict could have severe consequences that would extend far beyond these 17 defendants or the antifascist movement as a whole. It would set a precedent for the criminalization for nearly anyone involved in grass-roots political organizing outside of electoral politics.

A broad solidarity campaign is growing in Germany, and the Autonome Antifa (M) is calling for an international solidarity campaign for their trial. They are asking sympathizers from around the world to travel to Germany in August when the trial starts as international trial observers.

Any publicity for the trial would be welcomed. And of course they are in desperate need of funds for the legal costs of the trial. For more information, contact them at:

Autonome Antifa (M)
c/o Buchladen
Rote Strasse 10
37073 Göttingen

telephone and fax: 49 5 51/54 90 81

E-Mail: aam@paxo.nadir.org

WWW: <http://www.nadir.org/Gruppen/aam/>

(address all correspondence in English to "Angela")

(anti)-abortion laws and lectures, agit-prop theater on March 8th - international women's day - and incorporating an anti-patriarchal standpoint in the rest of its politics.

Organization

In 1991, shortly after its founding, the Autonome Antifa (M) set off a nationwide discussion with its organizing paper. An effective antifascist politics and the development of an alternative to the current system is only possible within an organization. The Antifascist Action/Nationwide Organization grew from this discussion in 1992 and the Autonome Antifa (M) has been a member since then.

"Inner Security"

This political work is under attack and is part of a development towards more observation, more control and repression of the left in the FRG. 1996 is election year and one hotly debated issue is "inner security", in which §129 plays a special role. §129 allows basic rights like protection of privacy to be abused through observations and tapping. With §129 an individual defendant does not have to be proven to have committed any particular crime, but rather just has to be proven to be part of the group charged. It is a classic "guilt by association" law.

Historically, §129 has been most frequently used against leftist groups, not against the mafia or against fascists. It is used to build up political pressure against leftist groups and to defame political actions as unpolitical "criminal acts".

17 GERMAN ANTIFASCIST ACTIVISTS ARRESTED

Charged with "Membership in a criminal organization"

The Autonome Antifa (M)

The Autonome Antifa (M) grew out of the autonomist movement of the 1980's with a new concept. Some of the original goals were to break out of the isolation of the leftist movement, to go beyond single-issue politics and to bring revolutionary antifascism into broad circles of society.

Coalition demonstrations, AgitProp theater, information and discussion plena, historical and art exhibits, and other cultural events make up the praxis of Autonome Antifa (M).

The Autonome Antifa (M) is most often associated with the coalition demonstrations against fascist training centers. The years 1992/1993 were witness to fascist pogroms in Hoyerserda, Solingen, Mölln, and Rostock. During this time, the neo-fascists stepped up their activities in Lower Saxony as well. Attacks on people of color and leftists -- like the murder of Alexander Selchow on New Year's Eve 1990/1991 and countless other everyday terror acts -- were not uncommon. Especially the fascist Free German Workers' Party (FAP), banned in Spring 1995, was on the uprise.

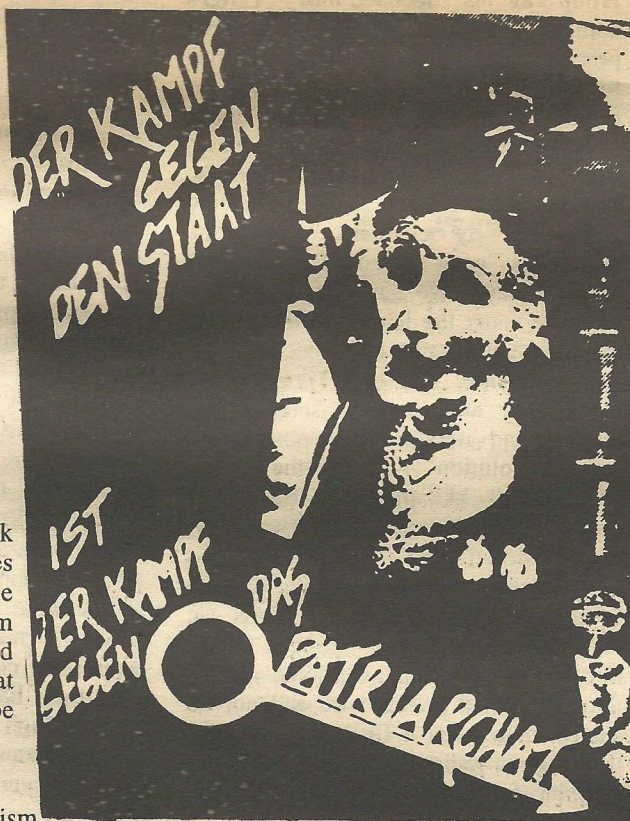
One characteristic of these demonstrations is the so-called black block, a part of demonstration where the participants mask themselves to protect themselves from potential fascist and police observation and attack. The black block became a symbol for the coalitions, for it showed the political diversity of the action -- from radical antifascists to youth groups to political

parties. The black block ensures that the media does not ignore the participation from autonomist groups and makes it more likely that their political contents be reported.

Fighting the roots of fascism

The politics of the Autonome Antifa (M) is not confined to fighting neo-fascism. An effective antifascism has to attack the roots of fascism, roots that are embedded in the capitalist system. Ongoing work groups and public presentations on the history of antifascist resistance and internationalism, for example, are also part of the politics of the Autonome Antifa (M).

October 2nd, the eve of "Reunification Day", is one example of the group's broader politics. Every year since 1990, the Autonome Antifa (M) has organized demonstrations, agit-prop theater, talks and published a brochure



on different topics. In 1995, the motto was "Against Fascism and Class Justice! The Anti-Fascist Action!" The city of Göttingen banned all activities planned from the group - a reaction to the ongoing investigations. The association of antifascism with "criminal deeds" strengthens the conservative position within the city and serves to intimidate potential coalition partners.

An integral part of leftist politics is also the struggle against patriarchy. The Autonome Antifa (M) works regularly on this issue, by organizing exhibits on the history of

Jury Verdict on Ramona Africa's Civil Suit

On Monday around 3:00 P.M. the jury in Ramona Africa's civil suit against the city of Philadelphia for the murder of eleven MOVE members in the May 13th, 1985 FBI orchestrated assault and bombing of MOVE headquarters returned their verdict. The jury all of whom were middle and working class and upon which only two blacks sat surprised many with their award of \$500,000 to Ramona and 500,000 each to two of the families of deceased MOVE members. Also as a sort of punitive measure the jury ordered Sambor, the police chief at the time of the bombing and Richmond, the fire chief, to each write a check once a week to each party, Ramona and to two families, for one dollar.

In conversation with Ramona the day after the verdict she had several specific reactions. She was pleased by the verdict however she related that the case took ten years to get to trial because her original demands for nine years was the freedom of the MOVE 9. After significant legal maneuvering the city finally decided that Ramona could only sue for civil damages. Instead of settling out of court as the city tried to do for nine years MOVE's strategy was to ask for an incredibly high amount of money, 50 million, in order to force the city to face the publicity of a trial. As they have throughout their history MOVE used this trial as a means to highlight for as many people as possible the naked cruelty and injustice of the system. Also MOVE used the trial as a means to secure testimony that could be helpful in obtaining freedom for the MOVE 9.

Ramona highlighted two very important parts of testimony. The first was Philadelphia mayor at the time of the bombing Wilson Goode's,

testimony that upon reviewing a bulk of the evidence used against the MOVE 9 he concluded that in his words, "I had serious question as to the guilt of the MOVE 9. . . It is highly possible that these are nine innocent people in prison." When pressed further in questioning he revealed that he did Nothing even after coming to these conclusions in the early eighties when he was managing director of the city. Of course MOVE's demand for the freedom of the MOVE9 was a large catalyst for the May 13th confrontation and Goode having done nothing from his seat of official power then took part on the planning of the assault on MOVE headquarters, hardly acting as the title of his book partially about the experience, "In Good Faith."

Another important bit of testimony was given by a fireman who participated in both the August 8th confrontation and the May 13th confrontation. Answering questions as to the "murderous" nature of MOVE during the August 8th confrontation this man, obviously not a MOVE sympathizer having participated on two full scale assaults on MOVE houses, had this to say. When asked what he did on August 8th he replied he was on Eviction team A and that he entered the house, secured the top three floors for the State and concluded that MOVE was in the basement. After tromping around for a good ten minutes on the first floor this fireman related that he was not fired on. So his team proceeded to saw a hole in the floor above MOVE's heads. After sawing for five minutes they removed the floor piece and this fireman stuck his head down the hole to talk to MOVE. He then told MOVE they should come out because they were going to try to drown them by pouring water

in the basement. He said he could clearly see several children and babies as well as adults. When asked "Were you fired upon?" again this fireman indicated to the court he had not been but was careful to add that he saw several of the MOVE members namely Delbert Africa "heavily armed." This is a blatant lie, people activeley engaged in armed rebellion don't normally sit passively while the enemy takes a total of twenty minutes in your house, saws a hole above your head, has someone stick their head down this hole and in the fireman's own words talk with MOVE members for a couple of minutes. For this fireman to survive but to say MOVE would then shoot some cop over 300 meters away and up hill in the back of his head, (James Ramp) not only is physically impossible, but the fireman's own testimony tells us that MOVE was not principally engaging in armed struggle on August 8th.

Ramona says that now that this civil cas is over with she plans to focus more specifically on freedom for the MOVE 9 along with other MOVE activities. She also indicated how it should be noted that a mostly white middle class jury whose foreman was from notoriously racist Northeast Philly, found the city liable. She said everyone should take notice of this and remember the importance of keeping the truth about this system in the public eye as much as possible as the more people learn, the more will feel compelled to take action towards getting the oppressor of our backs. MOVE's stand against the system is as strong as ever and still demonstrates the truth of these words from JOHN AFRICA,

"IT IS INSANE NOT TO RESIST SOMETHING THAT GIVES NOTHING BUT SICKNESS TO YOU, YOUR MOTHER'S, YOUR FATHER'S, YOUR BABIES, YOUR FAMILY, AND THE MOVE ORGANIZATION AIN'T ACCEPTING IT FROM NOBODY, THIS SYSTEM IS FINISHED, DON'T BE FOOLED BY THE MOVE ORG.'S NUMBERS. . . YOU WILL NEVER STOP THE MOVE ORGANIZATION AND IF YOU WANT TO CONFIRM THIS LOOK AT ALL THE THING YALL HAVE DONE TO TRY AND KILL US OFF AND EXPLAIN TO YOURSELVES WHY MOVE JUST GETS STRONGER."



Who Killed Michael Taylor? Activist Assassinated

Michael Taylor, a stalwart in the struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, was found shot to death on April 23 in L.A., done in execution style.

Michael had worked tirelessly around Mumia's case, not simply as a radio journalist himself, but as a committed activist. A friend who spoke to him a week before he was murdered said he was talking about setting up a micro-power community radio station in the mostly Black Crenshaw district of Los Angeles.

Michael covered diligently last year's Mumia hearings for KPFFK-Pacifica in L.A., and was instrumental in bringing Ramona Africa and Leonard Weinglass out to L.A. last year, and just a month or so ago was one of about ten folks from L.A. who went up to Oakland for a regional conference to build the movement to free Mumia.

"Michael did much more than just produce radio about Mumia. He also spoke on university campuses and community meetings about the case, blending information about what was happening to Mumia with a critique of the criminal justice system," KPFFK news director Frank Stoltze told the

Associated Press.

Stoltze, who describes KPFFK programming as half eclectic music and half "probably left" public affairs reporting, called Taylor a spokesman for those who were critical of government and law enforcement.

Once homeless himself, Taylor reported and produced 4 to 5 minute stories on topics ranging from homelessness to political prisoners and African-American oppression. "He wanted to effect change," Stoltze said. "I would say that he was not just a journalist, but in some respects a political activist." Stoltze believes there's a possibility the killing was related to Taylor's activism.

"He was not disliked, but was very uncompromising," he said. "I think anytime a political activist is tied up and shot multiple times you have to ask multiple questions."

Taylor worked at KPFFK largely as a volunteer. He joined the station as an apprentice in 1993 to learn basic radio skills and he became a program producer a year later. He also did freelance work. Stoltze said. "He would go out and produce public affairs stories, doing on-

Friends of MOVE

The MOVE organization has initiated a world wide "friends of MOVE" organization. I am writing from Washington D.C. where the embryonic stages of a "friends of MOVE" group is beginning. This is a call out to publicize this formation of groups and how interested persons can get involved. "Friends of MOVE" is described by Ramona Africa as a group that need not consist of more than a few individuals and would simply enable people in the area to get information about MOVE. Also she says such groups would require a stable address/post office box, stable phone

number, and hopefully a fax number. "Friends of MOVE" would also stay in contact by phone at least once a month with MOVE and would organize MOVE events, such as events dealing with the May 13th bombing of MOVE, and the ongoing imprisonment of nine MOVE family members for being just that, committed MOVE members and revolutionaries. If you are interested in supporting the work of the MOVE organization and you are outside of the D.C. metro area you can call Ramona Africa at, (215) 387-9955. If in D.C. you can call Friends of MOVE (DC) at 202/530-9857.

We ask all our outside readers to join the emergency response network to build active solidarity with imprisoned comrades. Participants in the e.r.n. are alerted to emergency situations and asked to call or fax the

authorities in support of prisoners. A monthly bulletin reports on longer term struggles and the results of e.r.n. actions. Write to Bronx ABC, P.O. Box 1034, Bronx, NY 10454.

air or taped interviews in the studio or record discussions at community forums," said Stoltze. He said Taylor was paid for some of his work.

"He did some work on black politicians and police abuse and women political prisoners and he interviewed authors and moviemakers. He covered gangs from time to time as part of his topics facing the African-American community," the news director said.

During his off hours, Taylor continued his volunteer work at a homeless shelter in the Crenshaw area. He left the station in February as he began devising plans to establish L.A.'s

first micro-powered free radio station.

Micro-powered radio stations take advantage of a loophole in Broadcasting Law that exempts radios with very low power from regulation. Electronic kits are available to enable one to broadcast to a several block radius for around \$300. The stations remain an appealing alternative to a growing number of communicators shut out of the mainstream.

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